Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*

Editorial Office 1323 M STREET, WASHINGTON 5, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066

VOL. V, NO. 52, *Issue Number* 257, DECEMBER 29, 1948 ★ *Editors:* FELIX MORLEY & FRANK C. HANIGHEN

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REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY

by Lawrence H. Smith

The building of constructive political action on the principles of justice and freedom must now be the firm objective of the Republican Party. In the debacle of another stunning defeat this challenge is more imperative than ever. This last reversal may provide the urge for the development of a real opposition movement so necessary in the present political situation.

The Republican Party has faced crises in the past, and as it looks ahead it must realize that our domestic problems and foreign affairs are in a critical state, calling for prompt attention and revision. The party has had men of wisdom with the capacity to solve the problems which it has faced in previous national emergencies. There is no reason to conclude that comparable leadership cannot be found today.

Lincoln had to deal with a divided nation, and had the common sense to meet the issues of that day by the application of sound principles. It was a Republican administration that passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, designed to curb greedy practices by large corporate combines. Wise income tax laws were enacted under the Republicans. When Theodore Roosevelt reached the Presidency, he struggled with those in his party who placed personal gain above the public interest. It is to his credit and that of the Republican Party that T. R. won his fight.

Today the Party must demonstrate that it is forward looking and seeks to establish freedom and justice in a complex domestic economy and on a global basis in foreign affairs. The ability and willingness to lead in that direction exists, but whether there is the courage and honesty to follow through remains to be seen.

There is little doubt that the Republican Party, under the leadership of Governor Dewey, expected to coast to victory in November on the weaknesses of President Truman; it had no intention of meeting the fundamental issues. Now the Republicans in Congress must organize to meet the challenge of Truman's New Deal. As the drift toward State Socialism is accelerated, the real political problem stands out ever more clearly as that of maintaining freedom. Republicans in and out of Congress can vigorously resist the industrious efforts of pseudo-liberals to concentrate more and more administrative power in a small ruling oligarchy, which has as its ultimate objective to control and regulate the entire economic machinery of this country.

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II

For sixteen years, the Democrats have blacked out private business initiative by restrictive legislation and confiscatory taxation. Their top policy makers have endorsed the principle that government can do more for the people than the people can do for themselves.

Mr. Truman went overboard for the socialistic State in his acceptance speech at Philadelphia. It was an historical statement in that he broke with the past completely. In effect he said to the people: "Don't worry about the future, the Government will take care of you." Just campaign oratory, of course, but serious when uttered by the President of the United States, and now it is his responsibility. It must be recognized that this appeal finds lodgment in the minds of many who honestly believe that government has some obligation to provide for them if they are in need. And there can be no doubt that this paternalistic assurance was an important factor in the last campaign.

The drift to Socialism and Statism in the United States has been constant for sixteen years, and in other parts of the world for a longer period. The Republicans in the 80th Congress tried to do something about it but their Presidential candidate failed to stand by them and now the movement is to be accelerated.

HUMAN EVENTS, on November 17, 1948, pointed out the significance of President Truman's campaign speeches as they indicate Democratic Party policy for the future. It was said:

> "The chief executive assured all elements of our Society, with the single exception of 'Big Business', that under his continued direction <u>their material benefits will increase</u>. The Democratic Party has pledged itself to this accomplishment." (Underscoring mine.)

Is this the proper function of American government? Yet even the Republican Majority, in the 80th Congress, supported New Deal measures in the fond hope that such action would win the election. It was bound to fail.

III

The Republican Party must build a program to meet the issues as they exist today. Fundamental principles of justice and freedom must be invoked; there must be no temporizing. In domestic affairs the fight against State Socialism is inevitable. Abroad, our global commitments are such as to require a review of our allegedly bi-partisan foreign policy. The peace of the world is involved and there is no more important business before us. Will Mr. Truman have more diplomatic success in the next four years than he has had in the past? International

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morality has hit a new low and the Republicans cannot escape responsibility for some of it. We can, however, do something about it by advocating and sticking to principle.

Nearly four years have elapsed since the Nazis collapsed and yet we have failed to write a peace with either Germany or Japan. It is recognized that if Europe is to recover it must be upon the basis of a reconstructed Germany. Ten Marshall Plans will not do the job so long as industrial Germany is crucified. What will the Republicans do about this? Have they the courage to give the lead which the electorate has the right to expect from those who assert a claim to leadership?

In the absence of peace we are engaged in an armaments race, greater than anything ever attempted in this country in time of peace. Fifteen billions are to be spent in the current fiscal year, another fifteen next year. In addition, there is conscription of young men for military service. Further, there is talk of a military alliance with other European countries and the lend-lease of guns, ammunition and air force equipment at an estimated cost of fifteen or twenty billion dollars. Obviously, this is a confession that Russia took Roosevelt and the U. S. A. for a ride; that in effect we lost the war. No other deduction is possible. It is only when the diplomat fails that the Army steps in.

The present situation could and should have been anticipated. Before the shooting stopped in Europe and the Pacific, our leaders were compromising principle. The high idealism expressed in the Atlantic Charter was ignored in the rush to achieve a military victory -- at any price. In our blind hate for Hitler and Hirohito we were trapped by Stalin and his Politburo. They outsmarted Roosevelt and his subservient State Department, and we now know that they were parties to a cunning deception of Poland, Yugoslavia and China. In a hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, there was testimony that Chiang Kai-shek was not even informed of Roosevelt's deal with Russia, whereby the Communists obtained special rights in Manchuria, the Port of Dairen, half of Korea and all the Kuriles. Yet Chiang was our ally. This sort of double-dealing went on at Moscow, Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. It was a wholesale violation of the principles of justice and decency and constitutes a national disgrace.

What will the Republicans do about this? Did not top flight Party leaders attend these conferences?

The Republican Minority in the Congress cannot avoid its responsibility in these matters; it cannot honestly use the cloak of bi-partisan

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foreign policy as an excuse for avoiding its definite obligation to the people. Fortunately, there is evidence that some Republicans in Congress realize their responsibilities.

IV

Last April, Representative Case, of South Dakota, as Chairman of the House subcommittee reporting on Germany, raised two important questions: (1) the present military occupation of Germany; and (2) the future disposition of Germany as a conquered nation. The Report implied a responsibility on the part of Congress for U. S. policy in Germany.

The Report also implies that Congress had a responsibility in the disposition of plants, railroad transportation, productive facilities, shipping and other captured equipment in the American zone of occupation. But it was pointed out that the whole reparations and demolition programs were being carried on through agreements and commitments made by the President entirely on his own initiative. There is no justification, in law, for such conduct. There is certainly no justification, in the American tradition, for such arrogation of executive power.

Temporary military occupation, of course, called for certain action under the rules of war, administered by the military government by direction of the President as Commander-in-Chief. The ultimate objective, however, is permanent settlement by the writing of an honorable treaty of peace. What did we do?

At the close of the war, Mr. Truman secretly adopted the Morgenthau Plan, contrary to the principles of international law. It is evident now that this was intended as the permanent peacetime policy for Germany. The plan was seemingly designed to prevent German rearmament by keeping the German people impoverished both in natural resources and in productive capacity. It has been well said that: "Advocates of this permanent policy thus sought to find in our military occupation a status novel in international law."

There is such a thing as a code of morality for nations and we invoked it to justify our cause. Republicans must now make a real fight for those basic American principles which the Administration has not upheld. Only in this way can we hope for a decent peace.

On November 2, Lawrence H. Smith was re-elected for his fifth term in Congress, from the First District of Wisconsin.

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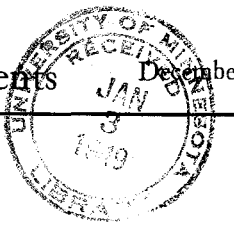
Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events December 29, 1948



By Frank C. Hanighen

What is the matter with American news coverage? One would think it would be front page news in every paper in the country that there was even the slightest evidence that the age-old quarrel between France and Germany has a chance of being patched up. If important elements in France showed a disposition to clasp hands with Germany, what a piece of peace news! Even if the report were only a straw in the wind, men of good will would still want to read it, to take heart therefrom. And big American newspapers and press associations, with offices in Paris, would hasten to relay the good news. But -- apparently not. Over a month ago we reported that the Paris daily, Le Monde, had an editorial advocating a Franco-German alliance. Now, Le Monde is the most important paper in France, the successor to the pre-war Le Temps, the French counterpart of the New York Times. Yet HUMAN EVENTS was the only American publication to report on this editorial. Yesterday, we experienced another electric shock on receipt of a month-old copy (dated November 27) of the same paper, in which it repeated the theme and went even further. Once more, no press agency in Paris sent a report of the story, no foreign correspondent noticed it -- or, shall we say, dared notice it?

Here is the gist of the Monde piece of November 27, in pertinent passages: "The reconstruction of Germany is inseparable from the reconstruction of Europe. . . . The problem of the Twentieth Century is not that of the Ruhr, but that of Europe. And the first can only be solved within the framework of the second. . . . Because she is afraid of German aggression, France wants to weaken German industry. She thus condemns Europe and herself to vegetate in mediocrity." Again, there appears a restatement of the thesis of a Franco-German alliance: "There can be no Europe without a Franco-German alliance. And to say that this alliance is not possible is to say that Europe is not possible, and that we are reduced to having to choose between two types of solution; the vassal state of the Philippines type or the Balkan, unless we should merely become part of the Soviet republic, or the 50th state of the United States of America. . . ." But the following goes further, in fact seems to be pretty close to an appeal for a Franco-German army: "If we talk about defending continental Europe by arms against a possible external aggression, we ought indeed to realize that these words imply the restoration of the German army as well as of the French army. For there are only two military peoples on the Continent -- Germany and France. A European army would be essentially a Franco-German army."

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As usual, commentators are looking everywhere for the key to the Indonesian situation, except in the obvious place. They scurry here and there admiring the righteousness of the UN, when it denounces the Dutch; they examine the subject of rubber cultivation in the Indies; they cast a searching eye at the Kremlin. But they have forgotten the rule that the source of an adventure abroad is usually found right at home. It was with this in mind that we listened the other night to one of the top Administration officials explaining the whole matter.

"Why", he said, "it's very simple. The Dutch have taken panic at the discovery that the Marshall Plan doesn't work. The ERP funds -- they enjoy the biggest per capita share -- were intended to build up home industry, tide over economies while the various States wiped out trade and monetary barriers. What's the actual result? Holland sees that these barriers are as high as ever. It still lacks its traditionally important German market -- the Morgenthau planners took care of that. Dutch exports haven't increased, and imports remain high. For political reasons, the Dutch haven't practiced austerity like the English. So, they look around and

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discover that all they have received is an American subsidy. They wonder how long they'll touch that. So, they've become panicky. The pepper, rubber and oil of their Indies, however, could save them, if fully exploited. A great quantity of these products has been in Republican hands. With brutal directness, they have set out to retrieve it. And so they started their little war."

They have -- and they are in an infernal hurry to wind it up. They want to finish the job before the UN goes further than merely lecturing them. It is also probable that the Dutch received some inspiration from the spectacle of the UN's handling of Palestine. If the Israeli Government got away with its land-grabbing, despite the UN efforts, why not Holland? We wickedly suggested this idea to the Administration official. But he wasn't amused. He's in for another four years; he knows where the big votes are counted, and that there's no Dutch vote.

Another aspect of the Indonesian affair has been too little noticed. The Dutch aggression took place in the same week that seven Japanese mounted the scaffold for the crime of aggression. If the UN attitude towards the Dutch were serious, they would be invoking another war crimes tribunal. If Tojo's head went in the noose, why not that of the Dutch Premier? Of course one may carry this reasoning further, and argue that, if the Dutch must go in the dock, then logically so should Mr. Ben Gurion. But let us not carry the new international jurisprudence too far.

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The following tale concerns bi-partisan foreign policy. Several weeks ago, this column quoted a column by a gentleman who signs himself "Jay Franklin". Mr. Franklin was one of Mr. Truman's speech-writers during the campaign. Franklin, in the piece mentioned, adumbrated a return to a policy of appeasement of Soviet Russia, and he apparently approved. Reporters raised this matter at a Presidential press conference, but Mr. Truman brushed it off. That, however, did not end the affair. We learn that Senator Arthur Vandenberg, great exponent of the bi-partisan foreign policy, wrote a letter to Mr. Truman about the Jay Franklin business, the sense of which was "how come?" Is this in accordance with the bi-partisan policy? And why are you keeping that fellow around the White House? We understand that Mr. Truman replied, in so many words, that there is nothing to it, and the ties between Mr. Franklin and the White House have been severed. We have yet to see, however, any White House announcement of any such severance.

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We offer the following contribution to the mountain of comment on the famous Duggan affair. There are other aspects, but for the present we are interested in one which attracted our notice while reading Mrs. Roosevelt's column on the subject. To begin with, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in her column "My Day", is much franker than her late husband ever was. F. D. R., in his orotund statements and speeches, kept back the little human touches which subsequent biographers and memoir-writers have revealed. Thus it remained for Mr. Morgenthau to relate the light-hearted way in which Mr. Roosevelt used to fix the price of gold; make it 21 cents, said the Great White Father, that is a lucky number, three times seven. Mrs. Roosevelt, however, doesn't wait for biographers. "My Day" rarely fails to bring out some revelation, about Mrs. Roosevelt.

Thus, in arraigning the House Un-American Activities Committee for its handling of the Duggan case, she remarked on December 24 (see Washington Daily News of that day, page 3), "I cannot help feeling that we are reaching a point in this country where this type of witch-hunting must come to an end." Apparently we have been suffering under a delusion that all witch-hunting was reprehensible. Inferentially,

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Mrs. Roosevelt says no. We believe we are justified in thinking that Mrs. Roosevelt thinks some other type of witch-hunting is good. There's no little evidence for that. Perhaps Mrs. Roosevelt had in mind the type of witch-hunting displayed by her husband's Administration in the legal monstrosity known in 1944-45 as the trial of the "Thirty Crack-pots". This was the trial where, for the first time in American history, the techniques of the Moscow "conspiracy" cases was used. It deserved and got the disapproval of bench and bar, and finally folded up, despite Administration efforts to keep it going. Mrs. Roosevelt, however, did not disapprove. Nor did she disapprove of the official support of the book, Under Cover, in which people like Senators Wheeler, Taft, Nye, and others of the old isolationist crowd, were smeared and their patriotism impugned. Neither she nor the whole pack of columnists now assailing Mr. Mundt disapproved of the antics of the press of that day in smearing some of these same public figures. That, presumably, is the type of witch hunt that Mrs. Roosevelt inferentially endorses.

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Dr. Sherwood's article came to mind as we noted that Britain's Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, expresses astonishment at the "bad sight" which so many of his countrymen are developing under State medicine. "The rush for spectacles is so great that it has overtaken production capacity." There's a great demand for "free" false teeth, and they say that dentists fill each other's teeth, which they used to do as an interprofessional service, and now send the bills to the government for payment. Mr. Bevan protests about this new gold-rush. "Because things are free", he remarks, "is no reason why people should abuse their opportunities. This is a great test of the maturity of the British people, insofar as they have all the resources of the medical profession at their disposal without charge."

Sam Pettingill, who reports these matters, comments: "One may sympathize with the plight of the Minister of Health, but to describe the system as 'free' or 'without charge' is the mark of a dishonest mind. Of course, it is all paid for. Doctors, dentists and nurses don't do their work for nothing, even in un-merrie England. 'Something for nothing' is vote grease de luxe. But when millions get something for nothing, other millions get nothing for something. The same sort of relief rackets are growing in this country and the cost goes up also.

"As the Gadarene swine", remarks Mr. Pettengill, "rushed down a steep place to the sea to be drowned, voters and taxpayers also blindly joined the stampede for 'free'. The voters in Oregon woke up the day after the election with a headache. They found that they had approved an old-age pension plan of $50 a month regardless of need. Treat 'em alike -- pauper and millionaire. It's a free country, isn't it? The Oregon joker was the disclosure that the cost of free pensions for all was three times as much as the present cost of the State Government in all its branches! Bond companies about to buy an Oregon State bond issue immediately withdrew their bids. Just another case of the 'maturity' of the people which Mr. Bevan is wondering about! Today in England, whether they work or not, or pay for private medical insurance or not, or are British subjects or not, everybody can ask for a glass eye, truss, operation or ambulance, and 'no charge'. Just pay your taxes, that's all."

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Senator Flanders, in his recent investigation of profits, achieved no headlines. Not that he did not try -- all committee chairmen and Members do. (And so do the ineffable columnists who have suddenly found that "headline hunting" is a crime.) Flanders discovered no fifth columnists to propel his name into a three-column head. But his hearing, none the less, produced important testimony, and, more than that, a generally intelligent attitude toward profits. Dr. Sumner

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Slichter, of Harvard, contrived to show, rather vividly for a professor, that companies had given a false impression of large profits, that these were actually not profits at all -- as the term is used in the sort of Fundamentalist oratory which the Left uses. It may be, indeed, that Flanders' greatest achievement was a committee atmosphere in which CIO representatives forebore the raucous denunciations of surplus gains heard on the hustings and Convention platforms.

As a matter of fact, it was significant that the CIO, instead of emphasizing the need for an excess profits tax, sought to produce a constructive proposal for the solution of capital formation problems. In lieu of the simple "soak the rich" formula, the CIO suggested an "undistributed profits tax", to provide more equity capital. This is an old notion which arose and foundered in the late Thirties. We hate to make the CIO uncomfortable, but we found a securities salesman who expressed unabashed support of the union federation's idea. He said that most of his colleagues had felt the same about the proposal in the late Thirties, that it mean more business for them, but "industrial capital" had squelched it. It's a rare day when organized Labor and finance capital are lined up against industrial capital. Anyway, in the Flanders hearings, a fresh wind was blowing through the committee room, passions cooled and some intelligent work went on. Perhaps those present remembered an old adage: "Don't ever grind up your seed corn."

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Recently our friend, Joe Hergesheimer, after pronouncing a funeral oration (a glass of Scotch in hand) on our modern civilization, developed an explanation. "Why did it go to pieces?" he cried. "Because it wasn't beautiful and interesting." Often, while trying to untangle the statistics and dialectic of such a problem as equity capital, the Hergesheimer judgment comes back to us and makes us ask: Is all this worth while? What matter, should business retrieve some freedom from the busy little bureaucrats on Constitution Avenue, if business goes right on with the civilization of Mean Streets? What matter, if the Treasury loosens some cords, if there results only the boredom of Pittsburgh? The worst sin of Mr. Bounderby was not his appalling arrogance and smugness. It was the incredible ugliness of his "dream", the "bigger and better" extension, indefinitely, of that deadly eyesore (as Dickens described it) -- Coketown.

Perhaps this realization has begun to affect businessmen. Several years ago, a Chicago manufacturer showed us his plant. His greatest pride was that, instead of building another shed on a piece of unused real estate, he had introduced a bit of sightly landscape architecture. Last week arrived the December bulletin of the Litchfield (Conn.) Voters' Club. The political tone and flavor is conservative enough to satisfy even the NAM. But one note struck us at happy variance with the literature of headlong boosterism gotten out by so many Chambers of Commerce and local "improvement clubs". The bulletin, mentioning Connecticut's small geographical area, remarks that it "must achieve through quality rather than quantity" and goes on to criticize the spirit of "more factories, more air fields, more general business. . . ." etc. Says the Litchfield bulletin, "This idea of 'bigger and better' assumes that the two are inseparably joined together. Such a thought as 'better and worse' is hardly conceived as possible and yet it not only is possible but probable. The cities of Cleveland and Detroit and Chicago are striking examples of the disastrous effects of growth on quality. Slums and crime abound, unrest and strikes and a general feeling of irresponsibility on the part of many recently acquired residents. Our cities are our melting pots, and they don't do a good job of melting. It is a fair question to ask: is Connecticut growing better and worse, as our Development Commission, and our local promoters get in their work, and is our standard of living going up or going down? . . . Let us make sure that progress is really progress."

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